UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

A Message from the Settlements

Is There an American-Russian-Chinese Understanding Against Japan? - - - - - - - - - - *Taraknath Das*

Scandinavia Under the Shadow - - - - - - - - - - - - *Kurt Singer*

France in Anguish - - *Serge Fliegers*

Unwinged - - *Helen Kimberly McElhone*

"The Storm" - - - - - - *E. G.*

THE STUDY TABLE
Charles A. Hawley

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

A Trip to a Refugee School in China

A call has come to go out and visit one of the refugee camps in our west field. It is the finish of winter and the calendar says the weather should be very cold, but actually the temperature is unexpectedly warm. So it is arranged that we shall go the next day. The place is only six miles away; therefore bicycles, rickshaws, and our own feet will take us there and back.

We eat an early breakfast and search our pockets to make sure that we have only enough money to take us across the river. Inside the city it is illegal to use one brand of money. In our west field it is illegal to use the other sort, so we go with empty pockets. Now we start south, through the city to the point on the Grand Canal where the ferry is to be found. Early morning vendors are already on the street. With bobbing baskets hung from poles, they are making their rounds from house to house. Shivering dogs are still trying to sleep, curled up in protected corners. A few men are hurrying through the streets to their places of work. No children have yet appeared. But behind walls and house doors here and there the sounds of daily activities are beginning. Now we hear the turning of millstones. There, the clatter of a gin. This sound here may be the shuffling of a hand-loom. We pass through narrow streets with high walls or large doors on either side or, at times, storefronts with solid wooden shutters still closed. We are going considerably out of our way in order not to pass through streets where foreign sentries demand that our Chinese friends make deferential bows.

Here we come to the water front on the Grand Canal. The big barge-like free ferry is crowded with early morning workers coming from "West of the River." A small pay-ferry is dodging back and forth, propelled by a *sculling* oar. We take the pay-ferry. "West of the River" is the name of the small town which is an overflow of Lintsing City. Here we have one of our nine refugee camps, but we are not stopping to see it today. We pass quickly through the narrow streets, and out the west gate. Immediately we come into what was a flooded region. Only recently the waters have receded, and the ground is still damp except for a caked and cracked crust on the top. For the whole six miles, we travel on this empty lake bottom, walking on cakes of dried mud, broken in a crackle-ware pattern. On every slightly lower section, the mud is wet and almost impassable. Here the men carry bicycles, while clay collects heavily on their shoes.

After passing three or four island-like villages, we see ahead the one which we are to visit, where already a large group of people are collected outside the town wall. As we come within sight, the crowd begins to string out into a procession, headed our way. This is not

(*Continued on page* 64)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CXXVI MONDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1940 No. 4

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION TO WAR

"I know it will be asked, 'And is not the citizen bound to fight at the call of his government? . . . Is not obedience to the sovereign power the very foundation on which society rests?' I answer, 'Has the duty of obeying government no bounds? Is the human sovereign a God? Is his sovereignty absolute? . . . Is there no higher standard than human law?' These questions answer themselves. . . . Undoubtedly, as a general rule, the citizen is bound to obey the authorities under which he lives. No difference of opinion as to the mere expediency of measures will warrant opposition. Even in cases of doubtful right, he may submit his judgment to the law. But when called to do what his conscience clearly pronounces wrong, he must not waver. No outward law is so sacred as the voice of God in his own breast. He cannot devolve on rulers an act so solemn as the destruction of fellow-beings convicted of no offense. For no act will more solemn inquisition be made at the bar of God."

William Ellery Channing (1838)

"ON THE PACIFIST FRONT"

When this note is published, UNITY will have passed the first-year anniversary of the appearance of its department, "On the Pacifist Front." This is the most complete news survey of what is going on in the pacifist world that has appeared in any paper anywhere. Its material has been gathered from all kinds of sources—news dispatches, articles and reports in magazines, pamphlets and the daily press, personal correspondence, in places as widely separated as England, France, Belgium, Canada, Australia, and our own country. The *Nofrontier News Service* has been especially valuable. In recent weeks, it has become increasingly difficult to find material. Our newspapers, for example, are no longer publishing much pacifist news. But as long as communication is open anywhere, and as long as the Washington government tolerates a free press, we shall continue to publish this department in our columns, and thus make UNITY not only unique but indispensable.

AMERICA IN THE FAR EAST

There is probably more danger to America in Asia today than in Europe. If we get into this war, it will undoubtedly be because of Japan rather than of Germany. This was shown by the action of Washington in clapping an embargo upon all exportations of scrap iron and other war commodities to other nations than Great Britain and China as a response to the Japanese invasion of Indo-China. If good at all, why was this embargo not good yesterday as well as today? Why has the United States, up to this critical moment, been giving all possible aid to Japan in its shameless raid upon China? As for the Japanese-Axis pact which has stirred such excitement and alarm, this was of course the direct result, as Senator Nye promptly pointed out, of America's step-by-step progress into the European struggle on the side of England against Germany. The Roosevelt war-policy, in other words, is reaping its iron harvest. For months we have been showing every sign of coming into the war the moment American public opinion could be prepared for it. All right, say Berlin and Rome and Tokio, if that is what you are going to do, *this* in turn is what *we* are going to do. You will be fighting not on one front but on two, in Asia as well as in Europe. It is a nice prospect—all the more irritating as it is directly of our own making! We have ourselves made the bed in which we lie. Which raises, now, the basic question!—what is America doing in the Orient anyway? It is perfectly obvious what the fact is. We are taking care in the Orient of British interests. We have said to Britain—we will put our fleet in Asiatic waters, and you can then withdraw all your ships to the Mediterranean and Atlantic to fight the Axis powers. Which is to say, and say truly, that we have all along been serving in this war as Britain's ally in the Far East! As far as we ourselves are concerned, we have no business there. Our commercial interests are negligible. We have set the date for our withdrawal from the Philippines. Hawaii, our farthest outpost, is remote. As a nation, therefore, we are as out of place in Asia as Japan would be in this western hemisphere. But in the true spirit of imperialism and militarism, we are sticking our nose in everywhere. And that means, of course, that we have got to fight. The Berlin-Tokio pact says just that. If we do not like it, it is our own fault.

UNIFYING THE THOUGHT OF DEMOCRACY

An enormously interesting and perhaps important series of meetings was held in New York last month at the Jewish Theological Seminary. These meetings sprang from a gathering of philosophers and theologians of outstanding distinction, representing one hundred and seventy-five different universities and learned societies, and themselves members of the Jewish, Cath-

olic, and Protestant faiths, or simple agnostics or positivists. Addresses were given on a great variety of subjects, representing points of view running all the way from extreme naturalism to extreme supernaturalism, and moved almost without exception by a noble spirit of tolerance. At the close it was announced that the group would assemble again in 1941 and in 1942, and that meanwhile an attempt would be made to achieve some "corporate thinking," to the end, possibly, of securing a unification of thought at least on matters pertaining to democracy, to which there was a unanimous loyalty. The scholars interested in this undertaking contended that religious doctrines and philosophical tenets were "instruments of division" between political parties, cults, and disputing schools of knowledge, whereas there is a unity observed in the family, community, or nation which is based on common living which ought to be able to express itself in common thinking. One principle only was agreed upon at this first gathering, stated as follows:

> The conference was unanimous in its conviction that modern civilization can be preserved only by a recognition of the supreme worth and moral responsibility of the individual human person.

Asked to explain this principle, the further statement was made that the individual's "supreme worth" meant that "the individual had rights which no state had given him and which no state could take away"; and that his "moral responsibility" meant that "the individual had duties accompanying his rights." It must be said that all this is nothing new. It awakens recollections of Emerson, Thoreau, Carlyle, Ruskin, Herbert Spencer, Mazzini, Hugo—to go no farther back than the nineteenth century. But if not new, it is fundamental; and a welcome rediscovery in this age of dictatorships, totalitarian regimes, Communist party lines, and New Deal programs, which in one way or another, to some degree or another, would subdue the individual to society. It is high time that we returned to this idea of the infinite and eternal sanctity of the individual soul. In this lies the essence of our democracy and the salvation of our world.

HITLER TAKES OVER MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS

President Butler, of Columbia University, created the greatest scandal in the history of American education when he delivered his sensational speech to his faculty in which he ordered them to "goose-step" to his command, or else get out. His thesis was interesting—that Columbia had already gone into the war! Who put Columbia in? The trustees? Not so far as we know. The faculty? No—the professors and instructors have not in any way been consulted. The students? On the contrary, President Butler took pains in his address to declare that the students have no power in such matters, and are not even dowered with any freedom of thought or action. Like galley-slaves, they go where the boat goes under the captain's command. And the captain in this case is the President of the University! It is Butler, like any one of the dictators abroad, who has taken Columbia into the war. And now that Columbia is under arms by the decree of one man, the academic fuehrer, this man calls his faculty together and tells them what they must do. Like a lot of Nazi troopers, these professors and teachers must support the war-policy of the President. They must think as Butler thinks, speak as Butler speaks, act as Butler acts, or else—*get out!* There is no freedom in this case except the freedom of the University—i. e., President Butler—not to be blocked or interfered with by the non-conformity of individual faculty members. Just as in Germany there is no freedom except the freedom of the state—i. e., Hitler—not to be blocked or interfered with by the non-conformity of individual citizens. What President Butler has done to Columbia, of course, is precisely what Hitler has done to the University of Berlin and to other German universities. He has subjected it to his single will, and therewith outraged every principle of civil liberties implicit in our American democracy. Like Mr. H. G. Wells, who in commenting upon this event has said that he has "always dissented from Dr. Butler," we have "always dissented," too. We can recall not a single instance where we have agreed with this "fake" liberal. Especially do we remember his action in the last war, when, with fierce intolerance, he got rid of professors who dared to anticipate the verdict of history by expressing doubts as to the ideal character of the 1914 conflict. But now even this man has outdone himself by an action well described by Senator Champ Clark as "brazen, outrageous, and infamous." It will be interesting to see if American professors are humiliated and subdued as easily as German professors. Meanwhile, every friend of civil liberties, every friend of democracy, every true American, must resent what President Butler has done, and seek its instant correction.

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION

We know of no more curious and lamentable fact today than the current eruption in America of religious persecution. If there is anything of which we are most proud in this country, it is our great principle of free religion. Partly as a result of this principle, America fosters within her borders the greatest conglomeration of religious sects in the modern world, running all the way from Old Catholics to Hindu swamis. But we welcome them all, and have given them full liberty of word, worship, and work. Now, however, under the stress of the war-fever, trouble has begun. Jehovah's Witnesses, for example, have been outrageously treated in recent months. In more than twenty states, north, south, east, and west, in Maine equally with Texas, these Christians have been

set upon, beaten, falsely arrested, and mobbed generally. Not infrequently officers of the law have joined in the violent attacks upon these people. We hold no particular brief for the type of religion offered by the Witnesses. They are an ignorant and superstitious people, aggressive and at times obnoxious in their evangelical methods, and bitterly intolerant of all other Christians, both Catholic and Protestant. But they are magnificently sincere and courageous. A good part of their trouble comes from the fact that they actually believe their religion, and insist upon living it themselves and commending it to others. Furthermore, they are perfectly willing to suffer for their faith—as in the matter of refusing for religious reasons to salute the flag, as the Quakers refused similarly in the old days to take off their hats to the king. People of this sort are embarrassing to have around. And now Americans are proposing to get rid of them! Whatever we may think of them, Jehovah's Witnesses challenge our sympathy and support in their present plight. Then there is the "I Am" cult. We know practically nothing about these religionists. We do not imagine we could agree with anything they teach. But when we read about their leaders being arrested, and note the declaration of the authorities that their religion is a racket, we are instantly suspicious. Any religion that we do not like is a "racket." We have heard Roman Catholicism called a "racket." What concerns us is the right of people in this country to be as foolish as they want to in their religious faith, and to use every method consistent with public order to advance their cause. To interfere with people because we do not like them, or are afraid of them, is un-American.

COUNTRY OR GOD?

That was a curious thing that took place at Winnipeg, at the opening of the meeting of the Biennial General Council of the United Church of Canada. "Immediately the Council had been constituted," says the report in the *Christian Century,* Dr. J. R. P. Sclater, of Old St. Andrew's Church arose and suggested that "its first action be an expression of affection and loyalty to its beloved King and Queen." Now, this was a church gathering, mind you! It was an assembly of Christians, met to do the business of God and of His Christ. Imagine a similar meeting of Christian presbyters and bishops in the days of the old Roman Empire. Would their "first action" have been "an expression of affection and loyalty" to the Roman Emperor, or would it have been "an expression of affection and loyalty" to Jesus Christ? "As clearly as a precentor with a tuning fork," writes the *Christian Century* reporter, the St. Andrew's pastor offered his motion. He was tuning this Council meeting to its keynote of divine harmony—and he called for the allegiance of his fellow-delegates not to God, the King of Kings, but to George VI, King of Great Britain, and Emperor of India! That is what war does, even to a religiously trained mind. It puts God into the discard, or into second place, and makes the government, as personified in king or president, supreme. This is not to say that we owe no allegiance to our government, any more than it is to say that we owe no allegiance to our home and family. But it is most emphatically to say that first things should come first—that when the church of Christ meets to do his business on earth, its first devotion must be to Christ and to his God. What we have here is the whole question of the authority of the spiritual conscience. The early Christians expressed it in Peter's immortal phrase, "We ought to obey God rather than men." Happy the people who find no contradiction between God and men, the will of the one and the law of the others. But there come occasions, and never more so than in time of war, when men's ways are not God's way. Then, if ever, must the church assert the primacy of God. The divine will and not the state law must be the "tuning fork" with which all men must seek harmony. Failing this, the church is no longer an institution of religion, but a mere adjunct of government. Lower than this can no church fall!

OUR AMERICAN RADIO COMMENTATORS

Some one has recently remarked upon the extraordinary contrast between English and American radio commentators on events of the war. The contrast is indeed striking. The English commentators for the most part speak as though from the sure foundations of the eternal hills; the American commentators, with laudable exceptions, as though from the seething crater of a volcano. The English are prevailingly cool, calm, assured—even as exploding bombs shake their broadcasting studios, they remain unperturbed; the Americans, most of them, are excited and excitable—in the absence of bombs, *they* do the exploding. The English talk serenely as though about the weather; the Americans as though the German invasion, not of England but of America, had begun. It proves anew the truth of Bernard Shaw's observation in the last war—that the panic increased directly as the square of the distance from the battle front! The worst of our offenders is Walter Winchell, whose chief stock in trade is an artificially created manner of hysteria. What is true in his broadcasts is not new—it can all be found in yesterday's newspapers—and what is new is oftentimes not true. Only his own ridiculous excitement keeps his broadcasts going. Wythe Williams is another panic-monger. His specialty is so-called inside "dope" of the most fantastically absurd character, delivered in a Paul Revere style of immediate alarm. We commend him for an occasional 15 minutes of vast amusement. H. V. Kaltenborn is a pretentious poseur, whose chief task seems to be to take the routine news dispatches of the day, and transform them into hectic propaganda for

preparedness and war. His case is serious, as his "build-up" has been successful, and his bombast is therefore influential. ELMER DAVIS is a broadcaster of quite a different type. Earnest and well-informed, he sifts the day's news with admirable poise, and never poisons his commentation with propaganda. RAYMOND GRAM SWING is in a class all by himself. A man so experienced that he can afford to be humble, so authoritative in his knowledge of world events that his mind and not his manner is alone conspicuous, so clear-visioned that he can see through passing events into causes and meanings, a scholar, a gentleman, an interpreter in the best and highest sense of the word, Mr. Swing proves that broadcasting is an art by his own mastery of that art. Neither in England nor in America is there anybody to compare with him. He stands without a rival, and is worthy of his enormous public on both sides of the Atlantic.

Jottings

Hermann Goering is a great lover of animals. As Game Warden for the Reich, he has outlawed steel traps from Germany, because of their cruelty in maiming and torturing wild animals. Goering is also head of the German Air Force, and thus in charge of bombing operations in England. A versatile gentleman!

An anti-Semitic agitator in New York was recently committed to Bellevue Hospital for mental observation. This raises serious questions of civil liberties; but also the wise suspicion that anti-Semitism, after all, is nothing more nor less than a form of insanity.

Is it England or Germany that is on the offensive in this war? We suppose it all depends on whether you are living in England and seeking shelter from German planes, or living in Germany and taking refuge from English planes. One thing only is certain in war and that is that, whatever happens, the people are always on the defensive.

The American Legion Convention in Boston last month was the best argument we have seen in a long time against our going into this European war. Imagine going to war again—and having another American Legion on our hands!

Professor Mortimer J. Adler, of Chicago University, has said that "it is probably not from Hitler but from the professors that we shall ultimately need to be saved." There is no evidence that Professor Adler had in mind the war antics of the professor; but if there is one danger greater than another, it is the professors of our colleges suddenly gone mad over the European crisis. A good Ph.D. thesis subject would be "Why is war-lunacy more prevalent among professors than among other classes of the community?"

The growing number of ex-kings is one of the happy signs of the times. Why not also a growing number of ex-presidents? J. H. H.

A Message from the Settlements*

Within the last year, we have witnessed the cave-in of enlightened self-governing peoples that rim Western Europe. Neither isolation nor neutrality saved them from assault by new despotisms equipped with new weapons of destruction.

The drive for defense in the United States is an answer to that threat as it reaches us in our turn. Energies are being unleashed that may carry us beyond defense and into new wars, unless we can parallel this development with an equally active policy headed toward peace and security. The majority of this conference agree that as a great democracy we can and should count now by throwing our moral and economic weight against aggressors and in support of free peoples who are meeting the brunt of attempted conquest. Specifically, we call for extending the embargo on special gas and scrap iron to all materials and implements of war now going to Japan and used in her attempted conquest of China. We call for redoubled efforts to put means of defense in the hands of the British Commonwealth in staving off the most ruthless attempts at destruction in all history.

We of the settlements, who have lived and worked among peoples of different racial backgrounds and divergent cultures, again declare our faith in tolerance as the foundation of democratic society. We urge the settlements to renew their efforts to promote harmony and understanding among all whom the conflicts abroad may tend to separate here in America. We especially deplore all trends toward anti-Semitism. In the conscription of defense forces, as in other phases of our life, we oppose any discrimination against the negro race. And mindful of the rights of those who have conscientious scruples against war or honest convictions against

*Resolutions adopted by the Annual Conference of the National Federation of Settlements, September 24-28, 1940.

our possible involvement in present conflicts, we urge tolerance and justice in granting to all the rights of independent opinion which is theirs under a free society.

Our settlements are in a strategic position to detect trends toward intolerant propaganda and action, and we bespeak an alertness and courage which have hitherto characterized our settlement houses throughout the country in hours of bitterness and conflict.

The National Federation of Settlements wishes to express its continued concern for the well-being of the millions of non-citizens now being registered and finger-printed in accordance with the provisions of the Alien Registration Law. We wish to commend the efforts in behalf of a humane administration of the law and we call attention to the eagerness of non-citizens everywhere in complying with the law.

There is some apprehension, however, as to the future safety of some of our neighbors, citizens in fact, although non-citizens in law, whose legal status will be questioned under the complex technicalities of the law. We know of many cases requiring a great deal of discretion and sympathetic understanding on the part of administrators.

Further statement of policy from the Department of Justice would be extremely useful at this time in calming fears and insuring full success of the registration.

We urge the Attorney General, the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, and the Director of Registration to issue such a statement of policy fully stating the treatment to be accorded to various problem cases of registrants. We also urge the Department to facilitate the more speedy handling of applications now pending before the Immigration and Naturalization Bureau and thus avoid hardship to persons awaiting their final citizenship papers.

The National Federation of Settlements views with apprehension the potential hazards to the democratic principles of American life involved in the application of the provisions of the Selective Service Act. It specifically suggests that the following factors be scrutinized:

First, the principle of equal treatment for all racial groups must be strictly observed. Discrimination against such minority groups as the Negro must be guarded against both as to the relative numbers to be drafted and the opportunities provided for advancement in the ranks.

Second, the tenet of equality of opportunity as applied to all economic groups must be respected. The hazard of discrimination against depressed economic groups, such as primary wage-earners in home relief families, must be averted in the interpretation of clauses providing exemption for men with dependents.

Third, the right to freedom of thought must be guaranteed in dealing with conscientious objectors.

Fourth, the rights of labor and the preservation of standards of work as to hours, wages, etc., must be respected in the handling of men returning from service. In the dangers of ineffective enforcement of the already loose guaranties for the return of jobs to men at the termination of their period of service, lurk threats not only to job security and labor standards, but to the life and operation of trade unions. Safeguards must be provided to prevent discrimination against union workers in the interpretation of provisions affecting the "indispensability" of categories of labor.

Fifth, the recognition of the principles of sound educational method and vocational guidance and training is of paramount importance in the execution of the great training program to be undertaken as a phase of conscription. In this program lies an opportunity for constructive vocational education as well as serious danger of indiscriminate assignment of men to work responsibilities. The positive educational possibilities of this program must be emphasized.

Sixth, the democratic principle of respect for the integrity of individual personality and individual differences may be threatened by the military concept of a single pattern for behavior. This danger of stamping men in a strictly uniform way of living and thinking must be guarded against.

Seventh, to avoid discriminatory handling of the administration of the draft, care in the selection of members of draft boards is essential. Draft boards must, as much as possible, be composed of cross-sections of the community.

In order to assure the maximum respect for democratic values in this matter, settlements and settlement people must accept the responsibilities of interpreting the draft to their neighbors; accept service where possible on draft boards; remain constantly on the alert for abuses resulting in violations of the above principles; and establish cordial relationships with those responsible for administering the draft; thus providing channels through which recommendations for improvements in the operation of the Selective Service Act can be conveyed.

While we hail the concrete achievements in low-rent public housing for our neighbors already accomplished, we recognize that these are only a beginning. We are intimately aware of the tremendous numbers of people who urgently need to be rehoused, not when the present national emergency is over, but today. America's first line of defense is the home, and the home must be such as to be worth defending.

We therefore re-affirm our endorsement of Senate Bill 591 and call upon our member agencies to redouble their efforts in support of this bill.

Large sums of public money are being expended to provide adequate shelter for the families of workers in the defense industries. We are deeply concerned that these dwellings be built on such sites and according to such standards that they will, subsequent to their emergency use, be a contribution to a permanent and long-range community development. Wise planning at this time can reduce waste of public resources and result in long-term gains for the entire American public.

In the light of the present world crisis Congress has taken appropriate action greatly to expand provisions for the national defense. We as social workers recognize the necessity of effective measures for the protection of the American way of life. Implicit in this American way of life are certain securities and opportunities. Fundamental among these are social security in times of unemployment, illness, and old age; labor's right to bargain collectively; decent homes within the reach of all; the maintenance of civil liberties; recreational and educational opportunities for youth; and the basic assurances that no one shall ever go hungry.

We submit that the social gains which have been so slowly and so arduously won must not be jeopardized at this time, and furthermore that they are in truth our first lines of defense. It has been sufficiently demonstrated abroad that defense preparations must be not only military but psychological, social, and economic as well, if they are to be impregnable.

Scandinavia Under the Shadow

KURT SINGER*

Although the general outline of what is happening in Europe's northern democracies is clear to everyone, many details of Nazi technique and Scandinavian struggles and submission, both in the countries occupied by Germany and in those technically out of the war, have not been widely reported.

Last March the Swedish Government was compelled to establish three internment camps for refugees and prominent anti-Nazis. Categorical demands for this step had been voiced by Germany first, when significantly she increased the staff of the Stockholm Nazi Legation from a mere fifty to a hundred and fifty officials.

Drastic curbs on the traditional freedom of the press afflicted the Swedish people, thanks to German pressure, ever since the beginning of the war. No Swedish paper can openly criticize the Hitler regime, while more than sixty publications had to be suspended, their publishers sometimes receiving jail sentences of from one to three months. Germany has become Sweden's censor. Not even as prominent a citizen as the wife of Gustave Möller, the Swedish Minister of Trade and Commerce, and one of Scandinavia's outstanding social reformers and administrators, was spared this fate, and had to spend considerable time behind bars. Ture Nerman, former Communist but for some time a prominent member of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, suffered a similar fate as a consequence of German intervention.

It has been possible for Germany to establish even the Swedish standards for a blacklist of political literature, proscribing publication of the works of Hermann Rauschning, author of *The Voice of Destruction,* all official releases of the British Legation in Stockholm, as well as the writings of Harold Nicolson, Britain's famous ex-diplomatist and Member of Parliament, and Otto Strasser, Hitler's fiery opponent and advocate of anti-Hitlerite nationalism on a Socialist basis.

Germany's military advances had a throttling effect on Sweden's economy, virtually transforming the latter into one of Germany's dependencies, and causing the loss of her customers in both Britain and the United States. At the same time, this situation accounts for a lack of imports from the west.

Sweden needs coal. Germany only supplies it in exchange for further political concessions. Thus Sweden is being driven from pillar to post. Germany's last demands included payment by Sweden for her imports from Germany in gold and foreign currency, while Germany merely has to supply other commodities in payment. Russia naturally followed suit, clamoring for transfers in the police forces and elimination of anti-Communist elements, and the silencing of certain anti-Communist editors and Riksdag deputies.

Both Germany and Russia explained in unmistakable terms that Sweden's failure to comply with these demands would cause grave consequences. The words of the federal prosecutors in the ensuing trials against opponents of both Nazi and Bolshevist machinations, were as tragic as they were comical, asking the courts to doom the defendants for the sake of Sweden's peace, since acquittals might provoke war from across the Baltic Sea. These pathetic conditions reached tragic heights in the proceedings against Ragnar Johansson, who had "insulted" the Soviet, and in the trial of Ture Nerman, Socialist leader, also accused of rancor against Sweden's totalitarian neighbors and "friends." The writer witnessed both trials.

Sweden has become the center of totalitarian sedition in Scandinavia. Ten German "associations," disguised as clubs, are operating in the country, and also the "German Labor Front," headed by Ley, while the central offices of the Communist International are maintaining headquarters in Stockholm.

Equally evident and distressing for Sweden is the intimate collaboration between German and Russian diplomats, whose coöperation is only matched by the affectionate partnership existing between the Swedish Nazi and Communist parties. No final decisions seem to have been made on Sweden's fate by her sinister neighbors. Certain it is that Swedish democracy is being subjected to a progressive curtailment of its elementary political characteristics. Germany pursues a policy which spells the economic ruin of Sweden. Instead of gold or currency, she pays with aspirin and cameras. Sweden, once a country of prosperity, is headed for economic decline. National unemployment has increased and amounts to more than 75,000 at the present time; if this figure seems low to outside countries, it is high in comparison to the gains in employment which had so largely reduced the problem to very small dimensions. The prices of foodstuffs have risen thirty per cent. The press has been "coördinated" in German fashion.

Though drastic constitutional changes were introduced 130 years ago, Sweden's parliament dates back far beyond that, more than 500 years. Yet, one of the world's oldest democracies is now compelled to arrange parliamentary sessions in secret and with the public excluded, while constitutional reasons call for a continued admission of treacherous Communists and Nazi deputies who hasten to report all developments to their respective masters in both Moscow and Berlin. One of these people is Consul Wallen, parliamentary deputy, avowed anti-Semite, Hitler protagonist, and one of Berlin's leading real estate owners. The Fifth Column is not only sitting in and listening in; it has become a co-ruler.

If Sweden is still independent, this may merely be due to the fact that Germany and Russia have not as yet made any final dispositions. This decision, however, is a matter of the future. Sweden's ore, her arms, gold, foodstuffs, ships, railroads, and industrial establishments are equally desirable to Hitler and Stalin. If either or both have their way, even if there is no actual military conquest, Sweden will be within the dictatorial orbit.

By no means does this imply that the Swedish people have abandoned efforts to maintain their standards of democracy and independence. What they are up against in this endeavor is shown by the tactics of the extensive and elaborate Fifth Column which exists, center of which is the German Consulate General in Stockholm. If there is any doubt of the part being played by the Consulate, convincing evidence was provided in the

*The author of this article is a refugee who has recently resided for several years in the Scandinavian countries, and who has reached America after a dramatic voyage from Petsamo. He is an experienced journalist, and the author of a book on the life of the late winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, Karl von Ossietsky. The article is released through the *Nofrontier News Service.—Editor.*

case of one Herr Friedrich Stengel, chairman of the Swedish section of the German Nazi Party. Stengel was to be arrested by the Swedish police. He was manager of the Elektroskandia Electrical Corporation, which supplied all Swedish airports with signal equipment. He had managed to obtain plans and sketches of most Swedish airports, which he sent to Berlin. Dossiers of not less than 150 pages on his espionage activities were handed to the police. When Swedish authorities, however, wanted to arrest the man, he had by that time been added to the staff of the German Legation and thus enjoyed diplomatic immunity. Similar cases have occurred and are occurring constantly. Thus Captain Hermann Bolte was put under the sudden protection of diplomatic immunity when his seditious endeavors became a matter of public knowledge. He had been in connivance with Hermann Pflug-Hartung, spearhead of the German Marine Espionage Service in Denmark, who had previously murdered the German Socialist suffragist Rosa Luxemburg in the post-war revolutionary days.

Only one case of "Nazi diplomatic espionage" could be made a test by the Swedish authorities. This was upon the appointment of Herr Alexander Bogs, former Nazi Storm Troop leader, as German Consul in Malmo. Bogs was discovered photographing coastal and harbor points in the neighborhood of Ystad and was beaten up in the open by the Malmo chief of the fire brigade. This, however, may not prevent the triumphant return of Herr Bogs to the scene of his crime, in line with the case of Herr Abetz, one-time Nazi Fifth Columnist leader in France, and now Nazi Ambassador in Paris. Puzzling is the case of Sven Hedin, prominent Tibet explorer, partly of Jewish blood, who continues his monthly visits to Adolf Hitler and pursues a line of his own, negotiating—so many Swedes believe—with the Reich on the fate of Scandinavia, behind the back of the Swedish Government. It is he who supplied von Ribbentrop regularly with inside tips, using the medium of Goering's Swedish brother-in-law, Count von Rosen and his sister, Countess Fanny Willamowitz Mollendorf.

France in Anguish

SERGE FLIEGERS*

What is really happening in France? Foreign correspondents in Vichy and Marseilles cable reports of the trial of former government officials, of food rationing, of new laws devised by the Minister of the Family. But rigid censorship still hides from an anxious world the true conditions under which the defeated French are living. What would it be like to be trying to get along in unoccupied France today? Fortunately a channel has been found through which uncensored news can be relayed. The facts coming through are reliable, and although they are only an initial trickle, to readers in free lands, they may increasingly fill in with somber colors a blank spot in the already blackened canvas of our world.

In France people are standing in line for six hours waiting for the meager ration of food that is still left. They have almost forgotten what butter looks like. There is no white bread—only a little black bread. There is almost no meat. Before the catastrophe, joking citizens in the cafés used to say: "Well, there will always be potatoes." Today, potatoes are rationed. Public services are completely disorganized. Gas and electricity in Vichy, for example, function only at intervals. Workers who had been occupied in these services and in the munitions plants are now without work, and they walk the streets grumbling. And yet a tremendous slice of France's man power is forcibly kept off the wellnigh non-existent labor market. Official casualty figures heretofore known only to government officials in France, are here published accurately and in detail for the first time: dead, 60,000; wounded, 300,000; made prisoners, in the German advance, 1,900,000. Two-fifths of the French army rounded up and held by Germans!

Despite motion picture briefs showing demobilization of French troops, most of the remaining French army is still being kept under arms for fear of revolution, and there is ample reason to believe such an eventuality possible. Stoppage of industry and the draining off of food reserves by the Germans in exchange for "Kreditmark," supposedly redeemable by the French Government, the tremendous cost of maintaining the German army of occupation, are already pretty well known. More serious at the moment is the spread of epidemic, already reaching serious proportions along the Swiss border, near the Maginot Line, and on the Riviera where the city of Nice has been quarantined because of some infectious disease. At the close of the last war the Hygiene Committee of the League of Nations closely watched the development of any epidemic, rushed doctors, nurses, and medical supplies to afflicted regions and thus prevented the diseases from spreading. They managed to stop the pest spreading from Poland into Central Europe. This time, who is going to stave off disaster as an already weakened population goes into a second winter of malnutrition and insufficient heat, with disease already making headway?

The character of the Frenchman requires that he find a scapegoat for his defeat and his misfortune. Last time the Germans marched into Paris, seventy years ago, three generals, one bishop, and hundreds of Paris citizens were lined up against the wall and shot by the French Government. This time, aside from the trials of the Daladier-Gamelin faction, the direction to be taken in search for scapegoats is indicated by the race laws decreed shortly after the assumption of power by Pétain. Unsurpassed in their cruelty by any of the infamous Nuremberg laws, these decrees are aimed at all foreigners, and especially at Jews. Georges Mandel, tried along with Daladier, is a Jew whose real name is Rothschild. This would be sufficient cause for the anti-Semitic *petite bourgeoise* to hate him even if he had not been a member of the ill-fated Daladier Government. But these laws are aimed beyond Cabinet officers. Thousands upon thousands of foreigners and Jews who had accepted France's invitation of hospitality and had renounced their former citizenship are at the mercy of the unfortunate xenophobe trait of many classes of Frenchmen, now backed up by the new decree. Foreigners are forbidden to telephone, telegraph, travel. When it comes to food, they must be the last served. They may be accused by a Frenchman of anything he likes and imprisoned without trial. If condi-

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tions continue to become worse, it is possible that a real reign of terror may be at hand.

This state of affairs is approved by Hitler, and furthered by his agents, the Gestapo. "Gentle Heinrich" Himmler is working very hard in the little building on Avenue Foch, Paris, coöperating with Chiappe, the traitor. Chiappe was Prefect of the Paris police when the Germans took over the city. He immediately secured from them the job he had coveted all his life, that of Governor of Paris. He is a wiry little Corsican, with a pair of malignant eyes, glittering from beneath bushy eyebrows. During his career as Prefect of Police he was involved in various scandalous affairs, notably the *Affaire Stavisky.* He was a personal friend of the criminal, who was later shot in his villa at Chamonix before any more denunciations could be made which might have involved most of the members of the government including Daladier, Laval, and Bonnet.

France today is a country of bitterness, of near-starvation, of unemployment, of broken families, and spiteful, corrupt politicians, with the grim threat of disease looming steadily up as more and more formidable. Her plight is that of much of Europe—the backlash of war. After the last war it was the League of Nations that organized the disinfecting of Europe. The Germans have given the League its *coup de grace.* Will they be able to take its place in preventing the rapid spread of the drug traffic, which always skyrockets after wars, or the work of the white slaver who finds in the impoverished, broken families a plentiful supply and among the disorganized soldiers a ready market? As victors on the Continent, this responsibility falls upon them, but with war still raging, piling up its continuously more disastrous consequences for the future, it is doubtful if they will be willing to assume it.

Unwinged

HELEN KIMBERLY McELHONE

"But I don't want my boy to read *Alice in Wonderland!* I want him to grow up in absolute accuracy of thought. I plan to make him a great mathematician,—which can never be if he is introduced to stuff like that in his childhood!" So ended the diatribe of an honest but disturbed mother to an intelligent teacher of children. The pent-up mother had exploded like a soda-water bottle and in its fizz there was a distinct odor of "I-have-had-enough-of-that!" Knowing the boy's background, the teacher waited quietly till the fizz had oozed away.

"I believe you are partly right," she said, "but I am glad he chose that book, from a table of children's books on every subject, even mathematics. I am glad he read it and found it good. I can never consent to remove fairy tales from children's books, and the fact that he chose *Alice* had already shown me that she must not be snatched away from him. His attention may also be turned in other directions, not to erase the memory of *Alice,* but as a balance, to give him the poise needed by every small boy on his journey to be a man."

That mother had made two positive statements—one impossible, the other inaccurate. No human ever grew up in "absolute accuracy of thought"; let us pray that none ever will! And fairy tales never proved the slightest hindrance to the making of a great mathematician. When Queen Victoria read *Alice in Wonderland,* she told her secretary to put in a standing order for all books by the same author. The book that followed *Alice* happened to be an abstruse treatise on mathematics, to the Queen's disappointment! Perhaps Lewis Carroll, if he had not written that gem of a masterpiece to attract the entire world, could never have been the great mathematician that he was.

The teacher was a person of unusual discrimination; she had discovered that music and mathematics and poetry and humor and fairies are intimate pals, not antagonistic but necessary to each other. She was of a minority that should be listened to. What we call fairy stories need not necessarily include elfin personages. This is just a name for stories of imagination, be the actors, giants, ogres, talking birds, or animals. Seriously, it is cause for alarm that fairy stories are being allowed to die, with no one putting hand to a mightier-than-sword-pen to save them. It would be a far nobler deed on behalf of world peace, than shooting poor demented Hitler. Literary brokers, at the dictum of publishers, are now announcing in their lists for "juveniles": "No demand for fairy stories." But the wisest sages of the Far East have proclaimed for hundreds of years that "fairy tales do not belong exclusively to nurseries."

Here is a challenge: Lives there a publisher with soul so quick that he would dare to publish a story or a book with the openly avowed title: *A Fairy Story for Boys and Girls and Grown-ups,* or *A Fairy Tale for Grown-ups, Children Allowed,* or even *A Grown-up Story for Fairies?* If so, we can lead him to a shelf that needs dusting.

> If Fairy tales should pass away,
> Majorities (sheep minds) would say:
> "A fairy tale on the topmost shelf
> Is neither literature nor pelf,
> Of no avail can be."
> "Oh," speaks the wise minority,
> "The difference to me!"

Oh, the dreariness of a world where fairies cannot live, even though that world be "burdened with knowledge, but unwinged!" This is a plea for three from the many things available to the "good life," which are disappearing like snow on the river: Fairies, humor, music (natural folk-music).

At this particular moment the entire world, with few exceptions not worth mentioning, is trying to cope with the greatest human grilling in history. It is unthinkable that such universal cataclysm could fall on us with so little excuse. Just a slight overproduction of common sense and a sense of humor might have thwarted it in the beginning. Very likely we deserve what we are getting. Humor does not necessarily mean common horseplay, nor brainless balderdash, nor does it need a Voltaire to produce it. It means the natural wit that can knock the pins from under an unpleasant egotist or a vicious dictator in one non-killing sentence, changing a woeful atmosphere into the immediate return of the joy of living.

In England, when men suddenly removed from their faces all varieties of whiskers, as if in a universal shave, one prominent Englishman retained his moustache in a spirit of sheer bravado. It is gone now! At a certain dinner, he had a royal chance to show his courage in the matter,—and his wit. The lady who sat next to him

told him in her first sentence with coy frankness that she did not like his moustache or his politics. His reply was a boomerang: "But my dear lady, I can't see why you should ever come in contact with either." This story may be trite, but it should be remembered, as in all probability the great War Lord Churchill will never again be able to say anything so charmingly witty. Wit would be impossible with his present responsibilities.

It may sound flippant, but it is a profound truth that humor is a weapon of defense against warfare, in the same collection as "faith that makes men brave." Sandburg declares in his *Losers*:

> I could ask people to throw ashes on their heads
> In the name of that sergeant at Belleau Woods,
> Walking into the drumfires, calling his men,
> "Come on, you—! Do you want to live forever?"

Chilton tells us: "The vibration of the world-soul in rhythm and melody is the unconscious cry of men for Peace." . . . "Music is the natural antidote to the poison of fear which is the basis of national defense and the 'enemy-nation' myth." . . . "We believe that the true 'moral substitute for war' is singing and dancing." . . . "The songs and dances of the people are the veritable symbols of the world-unity."

Are we being driven back to these simple and beautiful things, lest we forget that there is anything so easily remedial and so worth saving in the old regime?

The New Day has already begun. We must enter it with faith and a few effectual implements proved worthy in the Old, saved from the general debacle. Saint Francis preached a fairly good sermon to the birds. We can prove by Giotto that they perched in the trees and on the ground at his feet and listened patiently. But we can prove quite as accurately by our own imagination, that as soon as the "Amen" gave them the chance, the birds replied:

> Darling Saint Francis,
> We answer you thus:
> Why not stop preaching
> And listen to us?

Can we connect this in any way with what is going on at this moment in Giotto's beloved country? But one safe step toward removing the universal thought of bloodshed would be a determined effort to begin this moment to save the life of at least three essentials to the joy of living: Fairies, humor, and natural music (including poetry).

During the first World War, the story was told of an American doughboy who spent his one day of leave in Paris. Everything he attempted to enjoy seemed to be labeled, "For Officers Only." Most of the Cafés had this sign in the window; others where soldiers were allowed had cards on most of the tables, "Officers Only!" At last the doughboy looked in a window and saw a few common soldiers dancing with pretty girls. He was surprised when he went in to find the loveliest girl standing idle at the moment. He hurried to speak to her, but before he had time, she deprecated with a shapely little hand and murmured sweetly, "Officers only!" Then he gave up and went back to the muddy trenches. He was really a nice boy and that night when he said his habitual prayer (probably "Now I lay me") he ended his personal addendum with "And please, dear God, if you don't mind, let the next war be a war for officers only!"

May our personal addendum, aimed upward from this present maelstrom of a world, be: "Dear God, if you don't mind, please help us to save fairies, humor, folk music, poetry, and their like, to all Eternity! Burden us with knowledge if you must, but let us not go 'unwinged'!"

"The Storm"

E. G.*

In years gone by, I had a charming and delightful Italian friend, who was also a beautiful musician. Many a time and oft, while nimble fingers fairly rippled over piano keys, I sat listening to language that seemed to come from Heaven, not from that musical instrument in front of me.

Once the piece I was listening to was called "The Storm." I could hear the lightning clap and the thunder roll, and also the sweet, faint melody of a flute, played by a shepherd boy holding his frightened and bewildered flock together and keeping them from going astray. All through the fury and strife of the storm, through lightning and thunder, through fright and confusion, could be heard the strains of this flute, now faint and distant, now louder and nearer, then again lost altogether in the noise and clatter and confusion of the storm, but finally coming closer and stronger, as the storm was gradually subsiding, the clouds rolling away, and the sun emerging from behind his curtains to shine once more upon the earth and her creatures.

There was something impressively symbolic in that piece of music. Time and again it has come back to my memory. I have in thought listened to it again, have seen in my imagination that shepherd boy surrounded by his bewildered and frightened sheep, and have heard the faint, sweet song of his flute.

I saw him again one other evening and heard once more the soothing sound of this music. It was at the dedication of a German anti-Nazi center in Mexico City. In the midst of storm and stress, of agony and despair, of gloom and degradation now let loose upon the world in all their fury, a little handful of Germans, Ludwig Renn, well-known German writer among them, dedicated an anti-Nazi center in Mexico City. They were not many. Only a mere handful,—a handful of rare and beautiful souls.

But all those who spoke dwelt upon the fact that now more than ever, when the forces of barbarism and cruelty were enveloping the world, when what we hold dear and near as symbols of progress and humanity is being swept away, when civilization itself and all its manifestations are being trampled under foot, it is necessary to keep constantly before us, as a beacon light through the darkness, the Germany not of today, but of the past, of the poets and the artists, of the musicians and the philosophers, of the writers and the thinkers, so that when this present wave of hate and terror is spent and gone, when the clouds have rolled away, and the sun is shining again, something of the culture and civilization that once was Germany may still be alive.

It seemed to me I was hearing again the sweet, distant melody of the flute of that shepherd boy, above the roar and thunder, through the terror and darkness of the storm, and I saw again the flock of frightened and bewildered sheep crowding closely around him for guidance and care.

*An American resident in Mexico.—*Editor.*

Is There an American-Russian-Chinese Understanding Against Japan?

TARAKNATH DAS

During the last few months there have been persistent rumors that Soviet Russia, China ruled by Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, and the United States, are in tacit understanding about checking Japanese Imperialism and its expansion in the vast regions of East Asia. Since Great Britain has been very much involved in the present war in Europe, Africa, and the Near East, and shown indications of "appeasement of Japan" by making the so-called Burma Road Agreement, the rumor of an American-Chinese-Russian understanding has gained strength. Is there any foundation to it?

To be sure, the American people and the administration in Washington are in favor of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek. Many Americans have been led to believe that Soviet Russia is interested in helping China to defeat Japan in her present war in China. As an expression of American disapproval of Japanese Imperialism, the present administration has abrogated the Commercial Treaty with Japan; and many responsible Americans speak of an American-Japanese War as inevitable. These things give some plausibility to the rumor of American-Chinese-Russian coöperation against Japan.

While the United States Government refuses to renew trade agreements with Japan, presumably on moral grounds, on August 6, 1940, it signed a new trade agreement with Soviet Russia, whose record as a treaty-breaking aggressor-power is well known to the civilized world. From the perusal of Sir Neville Henderson's Memoirs, it becomes clear that Soviet Russia is at least indirectly, if not equally, responsible for bringing about the present European War. The United States Government has protested against the rape of Finland and the annexation of Latvia, Esthonia, and Lithuania. Russian expansion is not devoid of dangerous consequences in world politics. Soviet Russia has acquired control over Outer Mongolia, 1,000,000 square miles in area, which was a part of the Chinese Empire. Soviet Russian penetration in Sinkiang, which is very rich in minerals and in area some 750,000 square miles, is progressing. It is believed that Soviet Russia is getting ready to penetrate into Northern Persia. In spite of these things, when the United States Government agrees to renew the trade agreement with Soviet Russia and refuses to extend the same treatment to Japan in matters of commercial relations, many people are inclined to think that at the back of the renewal of the trade agreement with Soviet Russia there is some motive of international significance.

Recently the United States Maritime Commission refused the request of Mitsui & Company of Japan to charter the Waterman Steamship Corporation freighter *Lafayette* to carry full cargo of new steel from an Atlantic port to Japan, and the request of the Mitsui Company to charter a tanker to carry fuel or diesel oil from a California port to Japan. The United States Maritime Commission previously had authorized the charter of a tanker to carry gasoline to Vladivostock, and had refused similar charters to Japanese concerns on grounds that the voyage to Japan was not safe. Few people will not regard the reason for refusing the permission as a mere excuse which has no foundation.

On August 7, 1940, it was announced from Washington that the United States Maritime Commission had granted the Soviet Government Oil Trust the right to charter two American tankers, the *Vacuum* and the *China Arrow* of the Socony Vacuum Oil Company, to carry motor gasoline to the Soviet Union.

From this it appears that the United States authorities are favoring Soviet Russia, while they are discriminating against Japan. Here it may be noted that the Soviet Russian Government has been engaged in supplying oil to Germany to the tune of more than a million tons a year. Is there any political reason behind such a double standard?

It might be argued with great force that the United States Government has renewed the trade agreement with Soviet Russia for a year because Russia has agreed that she will purchase at least $40,000,000 worth of American goods during the next twelve months. In return, the United States Government has promised to extend favored nation treatment to the U. S. S. R. However, from a perusal of the following extract from the letter of Mr. Milosoyan, the Peoples' Commissar for Commerce, written to Mr. Thurston, the Chargé d' Affaires of the United States Embassy at Moscow, it becomes clear that Soviet Russia, under certain circumstances, will not be bound to observe the agreement:

> If, however, restrictions imposed on exports by the Government of the United States, should render it difficult for Soviet economic organizations to satisfy their needs in the United States, it may be impossible for these organizations to carry out their intentions. The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is therefore not in a position at the present time to guarantee the above-mentioneed value of its purchases (of at least $40,000,000) in the United States.

The argument in favor of signing this trade treaty is that since 1935-1936, i.e., in the last five years, United States exports to Soviet Russia, according to figures available from the United States Department of Commerce, amounted to approximately $250,000,000, or $50,000,000 annually, whereas imports to the United States during the same period were about $115,000,000 or about $23,000,000 per year. This means that the United States, in five years, sold $135,000,000 worth more of goods to Soviet Russia than she bought from her.

We are often told by some American experts on Far Eastern affairs, that China is one of the most important potential markets for the United States. Professor Griswold, of Yale University, has very recently pointed out that "of American trade with the Far East, Japan's share has been double (at times triple) China's for the past forty years." It is a fact that during the past five years, 1935-1939 inclusive, the United States sold to China goods worth about $225,000,000, or about $45,000,000 per year, while the United States imports from China during the same period amounted to nearly $525,000,000, or about $105,000,000 a year. This means that in Chinese trade during the last five years the United States had an adverse balance aggregating nearly $300,000,000 or averaging $60,000,000 annually.

During the last five years, 1935-1939 inclusive, Japan bought from the United States merchandise worth not

less than $1,165,000,000, or about $233,000,000 annually, and during the same period Japan sold to the United States goods worth $815,000,000, or about $163,000,000 annually. Therefore the United States sold $350,000,000 worth of goods more than she bought from Japan. Japan is even today the third best customer of the United States. Japan's favorable balance of over $60,000,000 annually about offsets China's adverse trade balance.

If we strike a balance regarding the profitableness of American trade with Russia, China, and Japan during the last five years, we find that Soviet Russia and China together bought about $475,000,000 worth of goods, while Japan during the same period of 1935-1939 inclusive bought $1,165,000,000, or more than two and a half times that of China and Soviet Russia. In Chinese trade the United States had an adverse balance of nearly $300,000,000. In Soviet Russian trade the United States had a favorable balance of $115,000,000; while in Japanese trade American clear gain was $350,000,000.

If profitable trade is the only motive for renewing the trade agreement with Soviet Russia, then on the same ground the United States Government should not be reluctant to consider the renewal of the Commercial Treaty with Japan, whose trade is at least twice as valuable as that of Soviet Russia. The present administration's stubborn refusal to reëstablish normal trade relations with Japan, while extending favorable attention to Soviet Russian trade, gives color to the rumor that the trade agreement between Soviet Russia and the United States has been renewed due to international political considerations.

Those who are banking upon Soviet Russian support of the foreign policies of the United States, should not forget that Mr. Stalin does not get into an understanding with a nation for the purpose of serving humanity or philanthropy. Great Britain and France tried their best to get Soviet Russian support against Germany; but Stalin's price was Finland, the Baltic States, a portion of Poland, and a free hand in the Balkans. The Anglo-French Powers could not satisfy the greed of Soviet Russian Imperialism, because they had moral scruples. It has been reported that the Soviet Government has informed Sir Stafford Cripps, the present British Ambassador at Moscow, that unless Great Britain recognizes the Soviet Russian annexation of the Baltic States, there cannot be any improvement in Anglo-Russian commercial or political relations. If the United States wants Soviet Russian support against Japan, she will have to pay a big price to Stalin in the form of extension of Soviet Russian influence in China; or in other words, the United States will have to agree to virtual control of China by Soviet Russia in place of Japan. Lastly, Soviet Russia would give all kinds of encouragement to the United States about an American-Russian coöperation against Japan, as she did to France and Great Britain against Germany and Italy. This will be done with the avowed purpose of worsening American-Japanese relations, which might lead to an American-Japanese war and afford an opportunity for Soviet Russia to expand in China and other parts of Asia. Stalin's diplomacy appears to be one of bringing about a conflict between strong powers so as to weaken capitalistic nations; in so doing, the relative strength of Soviet Russia is increased, and thereby the possibility of a spread of Communism is increased without the fear of strong capitalistic opposition.

It is to be hoped that the rumor of an American-Russian-Chinese understanding against Japan is unfounded; such a policy will be against the real interests of the United States. To dispel such rumors and promote the real interests of the United States, steps should be taken to sign a new commercial treaty—a reciprocal trade agreement—with Japan in the near future.

On the Pacifist Front

[UNITY will publish from time to time, under this heading, such news as can be gathered about pacifists and pacifist activities in these war days. We earnestly invite our readers to send us such items of interest as may come to their attention.—*Editor.*]

XXIV

The United Press sends the following dispatch from Bombay, India:

In his weekly sermon at Marijan today, Mohandas K. Gandhi deplored the spilling of innocent blood, even in the name and defense of liberty and democracy.

The Indian leader said that liberty and democracy become unholy when their hands were "dyed red with innocent blood."

"What difference does it make to the dead, the orphans and the homeless whether the destruction is wrought in the name of totalitarianism or in the holy name of liberty and democracy?

"I hear the living Christ saying: 'These so-called children of mine know not what they are doing. They take my Father's name in vain for they disobey my Father's central command.'

"If Britain seeks justice, she must appear before God's imperial court with clean hands. She will not defend democracy and liberty by following the totalitarian method so far as the war is concerned. She will not be able to retrace her steps after out-Hitlering Hitler in war. The last resounding lesson of her victory, if attained, will be a snare and a delusion."

The Associated Press reports the following:

The youth of the Seventh Day Adventist faith—whose elders were "conscientious objectors" in the World War—are training themselves for non-combatant service.

Striving to avoid the "misunderstandings" which sent many of its faithful to prison for refusal to bear arms in 1917, the church is instructing thousands of its young men in the care of ailing, gassed and wounded soldiers and civilians.

The Reverend Charles S. Longacre, secretary of the Religious Liberty Association of the church, declared Seventh Day Adventists were not pacifists or anti-militarists, but added:

"While recognizing that warfare is unavoidable in maintaining civil government in a world of sin, non-combatants conscientiously object to taking human life."

Adventist youth are being trained for non-combatant duties in wartime at eleven educational institutions, eighty-five sanatoriums and in medical cadet training corps organized in churches throughout the nation.

"The War Department," said Mr. Longacre, "has expressed gratification over our program which, we believe, is the only one of its kind."

Courses are taught in coöperation with the Army, National Guard, and Red Cross.

"In addition to the actual training program, we are advising our young men and women in vocational and professional lines to prepare themselves for non-combatant roles in time of war," the clergyman said.

After a recent appearance before the Senate Military Affairs Committee, Mr. Longacre declared that compulsory military training laws should exempt individuals who have conscientious scruples from phases of military service requiring the taking of human life.

Members of the Adventist faith do not condemn those who take part in war, he said.

"As non-combatants they are willing to aid their government in every consistent way in time of warfare, except by taking human lives," he said. "The church does not attempt to dictate to its members individually but each person must stand upon his own conscientious conviction.

"Since the Supreme Court has recognized our non-combatant rights, we are under special obligation to help the government to the fullest extent as non-combatants."

In an article by Devere Allen in *Fellowship* there appears the following statement about French pacifists before the collapse of the republic:

Space does not allow me to list even the typical cases, nor would it be wise now to give names. But one, for example, was a teacher, over 60, jailed "preventively,"—that is, because he distributed anti-war pamphlets six days before the war began and might do so again! This man was well-known in France as a Christian pacifist. One civil objector was sentenced to five years at Lyons. A Socialist war resister was given four years in Paris. A religious objector was given two years at Tours. Another case, in Provence, was that of a man who had written an article before the war, in a pacifist paper. One C. O. got six years. Three members of the League of Esperantist Pacifists were being held in prison near Tours. One man and his wife—so far as I could learn, the only woman pacifist that reached a prison cell—were being held pending an ultimate trial, for the printing of pacifist sentiments in a small paper for which they were responsible. Thus sentences varied greatly in length, treatment varied from town to town, and the earlier tendency of army courts to blink at the first few cases of conscientious objection, when it was thought there would be only a very few, had already changed by spring into a stern handling of every discoverable resister.

As I walked with one of my pacifist friends through the dim blue-shadowed streets of Paris and talked where it seemed of all places least dangerous for his work, only once did he show traces of bitterness. "We have always, for years, fought Nazi ideas in collaboration with our friends in Germany. We have fought them here. Now we are called defeatists. But while they are gradually getting us all in prison, the old Nazi-French coöperation is still going on at the top. Down the Rhine around Strasbourg go our barges carrying Normandy apples and southern dates to export markets, with no more interference from the Germans than we give to their own shipments. A Swiss chemical factory depending on French raw materials used to import them over a short German railroad line for about five kilometres, and ever since the war began, in order that the French might not have to use motor trucks a long distance, the Nazis have arranged to let the French use their rails!"

The *Christian Century* reports the following:

The Ohio Conference of the Methodist Church has just closed its annual meeting at Lakeside. The social service commission made its report at the closing session. The report called the passage of the Burke-Wadsworth Bill by Congress a "defeat for democracy." It called upon the district superintendents, as well as every minister of the conference, "to safeguard the interests of the conscientious objector." There are 795 members in this conference and on this issue there were but two dissenting votes.

The New York *Times* tells of the following event in New York:

Three young men, all subject to conscription, presented their objections to military service in a public test tribunal at Caravan Hall, 110 East Fifty-ninth Street. The tribunal, under the auspices of the War Resisters League, simulated trials before local draft boards, with Roger Baldwin, Evan W. Thomas, and Dr. Herman Reissig as judges.

Mr. Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, and Dr. Thomas, professor of Medicine at New York University and brother of Norman Thomas, were conscientious objectors during the last war. Dr. Reissig was formerly chairman of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

The conscientious objectors were the Reverend Francis Hall, a Methodist minister and student at Union Theological Seminary; George Snyder of the Youth Committee Against War, and John B. Sloane, a pacifist on other than religious grounds.

The *Christian Century* reports the following items:

(1) The Nebraska Methodists, at the annual meeting of the Nebraska Conference, appointed a three-man board to advise conscientious objectors.

(2) The Reformed Church of America has invited conscientious objectors among its members to register with the consistory of their local church and with the stated clerk of the General Synod.

(3) The Seventh Day Adventists of Michigan, whose principles forbid participation in war, have set up a training camp for training members of draft age for non-combatant service.

The American Civil Liberties Union, which takes no official action either for or against conscription, has undertaken the legal defense of conscientious objectors. A National Committee has been organized to undertake this work.

The *Nofrontier News Service* (October 2nd) announces the following:

With no little distress, American pacifists read in a recent issue of the *Nofrontier News Service* that Vera Brittain, celebrated British novelist and pacifist, well known to thousands of Americans who have heard her on the lecture platform, had joined other British pacifists in support of war. These pacifist admirers of Miss Brittain may now be reassured; for word has been received from sources in London, including Miss Brittain herself, that she has by no means abandoned the point of view which, with so much courage and vigor, she has long upheld.

Miss Brittain makes her position plain, in a communication to N.N.S. She says: "I am still a member of the Executive and Council of the Peace Pledge Union, a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and a Vice President of the National Peace Council and the Women's International League. I have not changed my position or resigned from any of these bodies since the outbreak of the war. I am not and never have been an 'absolute' pacifist in the sense of opposing the various humanitarian activities to which war gives rise, and something from one of my circular letters stating that I did not regard work for refugees, children or casualties as inconsistent with pacifism, may have given a false impression."

A special dispatch in the New York *World-Telegram* reports the following from Atlantic City, N. J.:

The New Jersey Conference of the Methodist Church authorized ministers and leading laymen of the church to assist all Methodist youth who are conscientious objectors against military training, "if convinced they are sincere."

The ministers, laymen, and the conference committee on world peace were directed to intercede for such young men, when the question arises with the draft registration board involved.

Rev. Albert Nicholas Kaucher publishes in a recent issue of the *Christian Register* an article entitled, "In Praise of Pacifists." Himself a non-pacifist, Mr. Kaucher pays tribute to his pacifist brethren, and says:

I should like to suggest to all who cannot call themselves pacifists that they need these pacifists. Far from calling them names, we should salute their high spiritual attitude. The fact is, these pacifists are not hair-brained fanatics; they know all too well what they are doing and the price and consequences of their behavior. And we should do well if we were as clear-headed, as disinterested and heroic as they are. We may disagree with the dogma of pacifism, but

certainly we cannot disown the sublime and redeeming spirit of the pacifists: this we must approach in all humility and cherish as infinitely precious.

Dr. Horace A. Eaton, clerk of the Syracuse (N. Y.) Monthly Meeting of Friends, has published the following statement in the *Christian Century*:

I am instructed by the Syracuse Monthly Meeting to request that you publish if possible in your journal the following statement:

"As members of the Religious Society of Friends we regard with deep sympathy all men and women of whatever faith who from inner conviction are unable to participate in military activity. We must in loyalty to our religious convictions claim the right to counsel those who appeal to us for help in making their decision as to whether or not they shall submit to military compulsion. Friends from the nature of their belief in the inner light are incapable of persuading others to action not moved from within; they are incapable of obstructing unduly the legally expressed will of the country; but they would prove false to their faith if they did not offer help and guidance when they are asked."

The Study Table

CHARLES A. HAWLEY

The Greeks as Educators

PAIDEIA: THE IDEALS OF GREEK CULTURE. *By Werner Jaeger. New York: Oxford University Press.* 420 *pp.* $3.75.

This is a great book which ought to be read and well pondered by every believer in the good life. Professor Jaeger is one of the greatest living authorities on Greek culture which gave us much of our present-day heritage. Our present civilization is a mingling of Hebraism and Hellenism with the emphasis on Hellenism. Greek civilization the author wisely and correctly calls "education." He sets out to do what needs to be done, viz., to examine and set out the principal aim of this great "education," this potent, seminal civilization. Greek thought, according to Professor Jaeger, pursued a unified, constantly developing ideal. This ideal is the humanist ideal on which the finest parts of modern culture have been built. Greek education tried to develop the entire man, and then to ascertain his place within the state and the state's relation to the man. In the midst of present-day confusion, we must go back to the Greeks. Professor Jaeger's introduction is the best in print. We shall look with eagerness to the following volumes, since this volume takes the student only through the earlier period.

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The Original Green Mountain Boy

ETHAN ALLEN. *By Stewart H. Holbrook. New York: The Macmillan Company.* 283 *pp.* $2.50.

Ethan Allen was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1737, and died in Burlington, Vermont, in 1789. Everybody knows something about him, for he has become the subject of American folklore and legend. His exploits at Ticonderoga, which fort he took "in the name of Jehovah and the Continental Congress," are studied by all school children, but more important are his little-known and long-neglected writings. Allen was a soldier by force of circumstances and a theologian by association with Dr. Thomas Young, a graduate of Yale. The tragedy lies in the fact that Allen, because of poverty, did not go to Yale. Had he enjoyed the benefits of that college he might have developed into one of America's greatest thinkers—or he might not. He was a sort of cross between a Deist and a Humanist. Woodbridge Riley gives him a place among American thinkers, and surely he cannot be omitted from any careful study of the history of American thought. Stewart Holbrook, Allen's latest biographer, writes as a realist, and at the same time proves to be a warm admirer of his hero.

Can Christianity Save Civilization?

CAN CHRISTIANITY SAVE CIVILIZATION? *By Walter Marshall Horton. New York: Harper and Brothers.* 271 *pp.* $2.00.

This is a timely book. The author speaks out of a rich background: he is a theologian, a world traveler, and a student of comparative religions. Only one with such a preparation could plan and write as timely a book as this. The question raised by the book is always pertinent, but especially so at a time like this. The author quotes with approval the words of the early Christian that the Christians "held the world together." So again Dr. Horton holds that "when the nations of the world are drawing farther and farther apart, the Christian churches are drawing closer and closer together, in one World Christian Community, whose members support and help one another in trouble, and are united in one spiritual center even while they exhibit great freedom and diversity. What other nucleus of the coming World Civilization has yet appeared that is so likely to hold firm under hardship and stress during the difficult times that are ahead?" May that prophecy hold true. This book ought to be printed in a cheap edition and given a wide circulation. It is fascinating to young and old. One of my students told me he had read it through three times. It can do much toward making what we sorely need these days: World Christians in a world crisis.

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A Book for Teachers of Greek

A HELLENISTIC GREEK READER. *By Ernest Cadman Colwell and Julius R. Mantey. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.* 229 *pp.* $2.00.

Here is the book all teachers of Greek have been eagerly awaiting. In most theological schools and in many colleges, the study of Koine Greek has been confined to the New Testament. It has long been recognized that contemporary texts were needed for supplementary reading, for determining the meaning of many words found only once in the New Testament, and so on. But the few contemporary texts that up to now had been published were too expensive for school use. The *Hellenistic Reader* removes this difficulty once and for all. With its selections from the Septuagint, from the Apocrypha, from the New Testament, from Philo, Josephus, and the papyri, it covers the field in a remarkably complete manner. It is admirably adapted for Seminary and college courses, having notes, vocabulary, and all necessary helps. Every teacher of Greek will rejoice in this excellent book.

A Philosophy of Missions

THE GOSPEL IN THE WORLD. *By Godfrey E. Phillips. Nashville: Cokesbury Press.* 252 *pp.* $2.00.

This interesting book gives a theory and practice of missions for the new world order. The history of the missionary movement is one of the most important of all cultural activities. We are too close to it to see it in its total perspective, but future historians will see more clearly how world culture has been transformed by the progress of missionaries throughout the world. The church as an institution has now approached in reality the ancient expression "the Holy Church throughout all the world." Another truth has been borne upon us by the second World War: "No longer can we think of the 'Christian West' sending the light to the 'heathen East'." Since these things are so, we must have a philosophy of missions, and this is the purpose of Phillips' excellent book.

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An Indispensable Book

SNOWDEN'S SUNDAY SCHOOL LESSONS, 1941. *By Earl L. Douglass. New York: The Macmillan Company.* $1.50.

The present reviewer has used and recommended this book as it has appeared annually for some time, and each year the method and the exposition improve. Dr. Douglass has prepared an indispensable book for all who teach or are taught the Scriptures. Vivid illustrations and apt interpretations reveal a touch of scholarly genius. The "hints to teachers" will be found especially valuable. No teacher can be unprepared if he has even the most casual acquaintance with this book.

The Field

(*Continued from page* 50)

only a survey trip to one of our refuges, but it is also the first visit of a beloved pastor to this village after more than ten years' absence. We dismount and walk out to meet the welcoming delegation.

The first to arrive are the manager and the teachers of the camp. Then come forward the representatives of the Christian group in the village, mostly older men who knew their pastor in years gone by. And then, in a straight row and standing deferentially at attention, a most unexpected sight—a dozen or so members of the local village guard come out to do us honor. These are ordinary farmers, dressed in no uniform; just their own rather poor, but thickly padded garments. Each man holds a weapon such as you would not expect to see outside of a museum—gigantic execution knives, some in leather cases, and some bare; one sword, and a number of spears and javelins on long wooden handles. Next, in double file, standing tensely at attention, two hundred and fifty ruddy-cheeked children, young chins lifted high, eyes straight forward. "One!" *"Salute!"* The first class has greeted us. "One!" *"Salute!"* We are just passing the second class. "One!" *"Salute!"* These are little tots; the third class. Now a little girl's voice, "One!" *"Salute!"* This fourth class are all girls, some looking no bigger than six years of age. Beyond these are a motley crowd of villagers, mostly women and little children. Just as we reach them, a group of old ladies separate themselves and are about to kneel upon the ground and bow. Quickly we forbid it, but we take their message. These are not ordinary beggars, but they are supplicating aid for the poverty-stricken members of their town. We brought no money with us, but they shall not be forgotten.

Now we go into the village, which is a community of about 200 families. The site for our refuge has been loaned free of charge for this temporary relief work. Chinese homes are admirably adapted for this purpose. Entering one main gateway, we pass through many other doorways into a number of small courtyards, surrounded on all sides by houses, one room deep. Thus, behind one gate, there is room and privacy enough for 196 boys, 56 girls, 6 or 8 teachers, and a number of kitchen helpers and other workers. We are taken through these courts and to an inner room. In its dark recesses, we are served tea, and gifts of confections and fruits are brought to us from the Christians of the village. They are trying through us to thank the American friends who have done so much to relieve their need.

After we are rested from the trip, we make a tour of the camp. Four large bedrooms have been prepared, with about 60 children sleeping in each. The earthen floor, which, as so often in China, must serve as a bed, is still damp from the flood, and so six or eight inches of straw were laid to keep out the moisture before the comforts were spread. Bricks at the edges hold the straw in place. According to my rough calculation, about five youngsters sleep on each comfort, 7 by 6 feet. Thus they keep warm. Each child has, besides, his own covering comfort, now folded and piled against the wall. By day, these rooms are classrooms, the children sitting cross-legged on the beds. A painted space on the wall makes a blackboard.

Classes are going on in reading, in writing, in arithmetic. One room is hearing stories from the Bible, and when we return to the first courtyard, we find it full of children singing songs. There is no fund for school supplies, so on clear days the children practice writing on the ground with sticks. Ask some of your businessmen how easy it would be to run a school on relief money where not more than 2 per cent may be used for other than meeting direct physical need. Those of you who have given to China relief may be certain that the money is being used for the purpose for which it was sent, as only this small overhead is allowed. Our superintendents are doubling up on their work and are giving their services. They are the preachers from our evangelistic staff. Kitchen and other help are chosen from people who are themselves destitute flood sufferers.

When meal time comes, the children gather in circles of eight or ten each, around a steaming kettle of vegetable stew. Each youngster receives an enormous steamed muffin (wo wo t'ou) big enough for a meal in itself. They are made of three types of flour: corn, bean, and a variety of sorghum. In good weather, the children eat outside. We go to the kitchen and see the yard-wide iron pots, and the many-storied steaming baskets. We find also the great willow baskets, each holding many cubic yards of grain. Then we peek into the tiny room where a wee, blindfolded donkey walks round and round in a circle turning the mill stone that makes the flour out of the grain.

And now the children are all gathered in the main court for an outdoor service. First, several rousing Christian hymns, and then a prayer. A short talk from the visiting pastor, followed by a lively, much appreciated sermonette from one of our country preachers. Then more songs, including the recently translated one, "I Will Not Be Afraid." And just before we leave, a goodbye song, "Peace Be With You, Pastor." We make one hurried trip to the west side of the village to see the flood waters, still washing against the edge of town. From here, the flood still extends in an unbroken strip for 200 miles to Tientsin.

On coming back, we find a great group of villagers awaiting us. A table draped in red and bearing gifts of food has been placed in our honor on the street. Here we stop for short speeches from the village spokesman and the visiting pastor, then start on our homeward way. Again a procession forms to escort us, a long winding line upon the caked plain that once was cultivated fields. As we march, the children break into song. Their happy voices give a festive air to the occasion. A half mile or so, and the delegation swings back in a wide curve. The children are singing antiphonally now, one chorus answering another. What is it about the singing of children that makes a lump gather in the throat! Two hundred and fifty children, five each from fifty villages of the neighborhood saved from starvation! And where are the other children of the region? The rollicking song comes floating back; first near, then far. Near, and far; near, and far. The bright caps of the little girls form a patch of color like a red banner waving. Faint, and fainter; faint, and fainter the song floats back, like melody in a dream, and the children vanish from sight.

LOUISE WHITAKER.
American Board Mission,
Lintsing, Shantung, China.